



Krzysztof Mudyń, Małgorzata Michalik

CAN INFORMATION ABOUT SIMILARITIES OR DIFFERENCES CHANGE THE ATTITUDE TOWARD FOREIGNERS? AN INTERNET STUDY WITH JAPANESE AND POLISH MALE STUDENTS

1. Introduction

In a century of increasing globalization, communication in an international environment has become an issue of great significance. The present economic and cultural exchange among countries requires a deep insight into the process of cross-cultural communication. For these reasons, social scientists try to identify potential barriers and obstacles that may influence this process. Attitudes toward foreigners are an important element that must be taken into account while exploring the field of cross-cultural communication. Therefore, the subject of this study is the problem of how information about differences or similarities between countries can affect attitudes toward foreigners. The analyses are based on an experimental study conducted among Polish and Japanese students.

Before further investigating the problem of social attitudes toward foreigners, it is crucial to realize the importance of culture, which determines both the content and the structure of people's experiences as well as the way they understand the world surrounding them. Even the most basic psychological terms, such as the self, emotions or coping with post-decisional dissonance, are rather culturally dependant than universal¹. Because it is impossible to describe and control all cultural

¹ S. Kitayama, A.C. Snibbe, H.R. Markus, T. Suzuki, *Is There any "Free" Choice? Self and Dissonance in Two Cultures*, "Psychological Science" 2004, Vol.15, pp. 527–533.

differences existing between such distant countries as Japan and Poland, in the present study it is assumed that life orientations, considered to be the means of the indirect influence of culture and the indicators of individual differences, can be monitored. For this purpose the RN-02 Inventory constructed by Mudyń² is used.

2. Social distance as the basic component of the attitudes toward foreigners

The main category determining social attitudes is social distance. Social distance is a dimension of readiness for social contact, which ranges from very close and intimate contact to total separation. **Social distance** describes attitudes of one group toward another. The concept itself refers to “**the degree of closeness or acceptance that members of one group are willing to show members of another group**”³. The degree of closeness may be related to a group norm, as an effect of functional relations between groups. It is also influenced by individual predispositions such as “unique experiences, past contact with out-group members, personality variables, and so forth”⁴. Intergroup attitudes were for years the point of interest of many scientists. However, no systematic investigation was carried out. Bogardus was the first to define and measure what he called “social distance”. According to his concept, “social distance is the sympathetic understanding that exists between persons, between groups, and between a person and each of his groups. [Social distance] may take the form of either farness or nearness. Where there is little sympathetic understanding, social farness exists. Where sympathetic nearness is great, nearness exists”⁵.

² K. Mudyń, *Rzeczywiste-nierzeczywiste. Podręcznik metody do badania orientacji życiowych* [Real-Non(real). The Manual for the Method RN-02 for Assessing Life Orientations], Kraków 2010. See also K. Mudyń, *W poszukiwaniu prywatnych orientacji ontologicznych* [Searching for Private Ontological Orientations], Kraków 2007, as well as K. Mudyń, K. Pietras, *Explicit and implicit values of Polish Grandmothers and Their Granddaughters. In Search of Correspondence*, “Polish Psychological Bulletin” 2009, No. 2 (40), pp. 62–68.

³ L. Sagiv, S.H. Schwartz, *Value Priorities and Readiness for Out-group Social Contact*, “Journal of Personality and Social Psychology” 1995, Vol. 69, p. 437.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 437.

⁵ E.S. Bogardus, *A Social Distance Scale*, “Sociology and Social Research”, Vol. 17, pp. 265–271; after S. Siegel, I.L. Shepherd, *An Ordered Metric Measure of Social Distance*, “Sociometry” 1959, Vol. 22, p. 336.

2.1. The Poles' and the Japanese' attitudes toward other nations

The Poles' attitude toward foreign nations has been surveyed for the last decade. In a study conducted by Staszewski and Grudniewicz, Poles were asked about their positive or negative feelings concerning certain nations⁶. At first, in the early nineties, the list of nations consisted of eighteen countries. Nowadays, it has increased to twenty eight and consists mainly of European countries. In the same study, Japan was taken into account for the first time in 1995, with over 40% of respondents expressing their positive feelings. Antipathy toward the Japanese was declared by about 30% of participants. The remaining 30% remained indifferent. As a result of their research, the authors observed a general tendency for Poles to reveal more positive attitudes toward nations and countries that are well developed and which belong to the so called "Rich West", such as America, France, Italy, Britain, and Sweden. Japan, as a well-developed country, also qualified among the nations enjoying the Poles' positive attitude.

In 1966 research concerning attitudes toward foreign countries was carried out in Tokyo by Basabe. The aim of the study was to deal with images which students formed in respect to different nations and to examine national preferences and stereotypes⁷. The first part of the experiment was based on a rank-order scale. Students were asked to arrange a list of 18 nations according to their preferences. In the second part a social distance scale adapted to Japan was used. It contained questions regarding the extent to which certain countries were considered wanted or unwanted travel destinations or places of work, etc. The result significant for this study was that the Africans are among the nations least welcomed in Japan.

3. The influence of culture on social attitudes – Geert Hofstede's concept of culture

The role of culture in the creation of attitudes toward foreigners is undisputedly significant. To adequately approach this problem it is necessary to decide how to understand culture. According to Hofstede's concept of cultural dimensions (derived from Levinson's theory) there are issues that are universal and common for

⁶ *Polska – Europa – świat. Opinia publiczna w okresie integracji* [Poland – Europe – World. Public Opinion in the Period of Integration], K. Zagórski, M. Strzeszeski (eds.), Warszawa 2005.

⁷ F. Basabe, *Attitudes of Japanese Students Toward Foreign Countries*, "Monumenta Nipponica" 1966, Vol. 21, pp. 61–96.

nations all over the world⁸. These problems are essential for the functioning of whole societies, groups, as well as individuals. These issues are as follows: the attitude towards power, the concept of the relation between an individual and society, the concept of masculinity and femininity and the methods of organizing social situations and solving conflicts, and the orientation in time. Since in the present study comparisons are made between Poland and Japan, some cultural differences must be pointed out (Table 1).

Table 1. Japan and Poland in Hofstede's dimensions

Country	Power distance	Individualism	Masculinity	Uncertainty avoidance	Long-term orientation
Japan	54	46	95	92	80
Poland*	68	60	64	93	32

* Estimated values

Source: Hofstede, 2001.

What Polish and Japanese cultures have in common is definitely the dimension of uncertainty avoidance. Both societies tend to organize their social life by following clear rules and laws describing acceptable behaviors. This means that in both countries etiquette is emphasized. The greatest divergence exists in time orientation. Polish culture is deeply devoted to tradition and is short-term oriented, whereas Japanese culture is long-term oriented and tends to worship every single moment⁹. This does not mean that the Japanese cut off from tradition. It means that they are fascinated by fleeting phenomena¹⁰. The difference in defining gender roles is also visible. In Japanese society the functions of men and women are clear and have little in common. In Poland, however, behaviors typical of one sex are acceptable when exhibited by the other. A similar difference in point scores is noticeable in the first two dimensions. The Japanese tend to display stronger respect for authority and power. Collectivity seems to be also characteristic of the Japanese rather than the Polish culture. According to Azuma¹¹ "the core features of Japanese collectivism are role attachment and receptive diligence". This is also emphasized

⁸ G. Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences, Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations Across Nations*, Thousand Oaks CA 2001.

⁹ *Estetyka japońska* [Japanese Esthetics], K. Wilkoszewska (ed.), Kraków 2006.

¹⁰ S. Kaji, N. Hama, J. Rice, *Poradnik ksenofoba. Japończycy* [Xenophobe's Guide. The Japanese], Warszawa 2001.

¹¹ H. Azuma, S. Coll, *Japanese Collectivism and Education* [in:] *Global Prospects for Education: Development, Culture, and Schooling*, P.G. Scott, H.M. Wellman (eds.), Washington 1998, p. 294.

in Confucius's philosophy, which is fundamental for Japanese culture, stating that "society works best when individuals are loyal to those more learned and experienced and live up to their obligations to one another"¹².

4. Social cognition and social attitudes

Another problem influencing attitudes toward foreigners is social cognition, which concerns the question of how the individual makes sense of other people and themselves. It is therefore relevant to the study of attitudes, individual perception, stereotypization, etc.¹³. In the context of the present study there must be an awareness of the fact that all social interactions are rooted in a complex environment¹⁴. Due to the fact that the social environment is extremely complicated, social cognition always implies a certain extent of simplicity and predictability¹⁵. It leads to stereotyping, which is often treated as a broad, rigid, relatively inaccurate way of perceiving a category of people. In this sense, a traditional idea of a stereotypical response seems closely related to cognitive simplicity¹⁶.

A stereotype, as a cognitive aspect of prejudice, is defined as a generalization referring to a group that may be distinguished on the basis of specific features like sex or race. All members of that group are perceived as having the same characteristics. Individual differences between them are neglected¹⁷. For example, "individuating information about a person can be relatively inconsequential when perceivers base their evaluations of a person on information associated with the individual's social group"¹⁸. A psychological process underlying stereotypical judgments is categorization¹⁹. Due to the complexity of the social world, the individu-

¹² J. Scarborough, *The Origins of Cultural Differences and Their Impact on Management*, London 1998, p. 27.

¹³ S.T. Fiske, S.E. Taylor, *Social Cognition*, New York 1984.

¹⁴ M. Argyle, *The Psychology of Interpersonal Behavior*, London 1994.

¹⁵ T. Maruszewski, *Psychologia poznania* [The Psychology of Cognition], Gdańsk 2002.

¹⁶ F.W. Koenig, M.B. King, *Cognitive Simplicity and Out-Group Stereotyping*, "Social Forces" 1964, Vol. 42, pp. 324–327.

¹⁷ E. Aronson, T.D. Wilson, R.M. Akert, *Social Psychology*, New York 2007.

¹⁸ A.R. McConnell, R.J. Rydell, L.M. Strain, D.M. Mackie, *Forming Implicit and Explicit Attitudes Toward Individuals: Social Group Association Cues*, "Journal of Personality and Social Psychology" 2008, Vol. 94, p. 792.

¹⁹ H. Joffe, C. Staerkle, *The Centrality of the Self-control Ethos in Western Aspersions Regarding Outgroups: A Social Representational Approach to Stereotype Content*, "Culture and Psychology" 2007, Vol. 13, pp. 395–419.

al refers to specific categories, which make the understanding of this world easier. Additionally, what is significant for this study is that in the case of Japan, the majority of stereotypes have not been acquired by personal experience or by personal contact with representatives of different nations. "Japan has attempted to maintain its homogeneity through such dramatic steps as a self-imposed isolation from international exchange for more than two centuries"²⁰. Therefore, Japan seems to be the most ethnically homogeneous society in the world²¹. As Japan exists in specific isolation due to its geographical location and history, the majority of these stereotypes have been acquired mainly through mass media, which are intentionally or not, influencing the images of each ethnic group²². Similarly, in the case of Poland, a geographical central location also has its impact on the creation of stereotypes. As Poles aspire to Western countries, they follow depreciating stereotypes of their eastern neighbors²³.

Furthermore, **perceived similarity may be the factor which influences social attitudes**. The mechanism of this influence is based on Heider's concept of balance²⁴. The concept of structural balance can be illustrated as a relation among person A, person B and an act, property, or characteristic X. "When subject A likes person B and B subscribes to opinion X, such a force is generated that A tends to agree with opinion X. If A agrees with X, the three elements A, B, and X, are in a state of balance. If A does not agree with statement X, an imbalanced state arises"²⁵. Analogously, it is assumed that by concentrating on differences, positive feelings are decreased.

5. Personal values as determinants of social attitudes

In this research, personal values are recognized as factors strongly affecting social attitudes. Values are commonly described as "relatively stable individual preferences that reflect socialization"²⁶. They "refer to orientations toward what is con-

²⁰ T. Levey, C.B. Silver, *Gender and Value Orientations – What's the Difference!? The Case of Japan and the United States*, "Sociological Forum" 2006, Vol. 21, p. 664.

²¹ P. Varley, *Kultura japońska* [Japanese Culture], Kraków 2006.

²² F. Basabe, op.cit.

²³ E. Lipniacka, *Poradnik ksenofoba. Polacy* [Xenophobe's Guide. The Poles], Warsaw 2001.

²⁴ A.J. Smith, *Perceived Similarity and the Projection of Similarity: The Influence of Valence*, "The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology" 1958, Vol. 57, pp. 376.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 376.

²⁶ W. Bilsky, S.H. Schwartz, *Values and Personality*, "European Journal of Personality" 1994, Vol. 8, p. 164.

sidered desirable or preferable by people living in a society”²⁷. The study of values as determinants of individual behavior has grown out of the will to understand the logics of the personality. As state Vernon and Allport in relation to Spranger’s theory of values: “The common situations of everyday life give rise to evaluative judgments. One may look at a wedding ring [...] and regard it as an object that is glittering (an aesthetic evaluation), as made of 14-carat gold (theoretical), as a marketable object (economic), as a symbol of loyalty and love (social), as an emblem of right and duties (political), as an object with sacramental and mystical significance (religious)”²⁸.

Moreover, value patterns arise as a result of complex interactions between individuals and their social environment, which are determined by their culture. Values, as part of the cognitive structure and personality of individuals, may vary due to individual differences. Furthermore, the cultural influence on social environment explains the diversity in value patterns observed across different cultures²⁹.

Interestingly, indirect conclusions about personal values may refer to life orientations, to the assessment of whether things are real or not. The ontological status of certain things that the individual evaluates helps to assess personal values. What one believes to be more valuable is also treated as more real. “Every idea [...], as far as it becomes truly important to the individual, gains the status of reality”³⁰.

Personal values are of central importance to one’s readiness for out-group contact. Values serve as standards for judgments and evaluations of intergroup attitudes and behaviors, as well as the justification and rationalization of prejudiced attitudes. “Perception that another group has values different from one’s own or that this other group blocks cherished values have been founded to predict intergroup prejudice and readiness of aggression”³¹.

²⁷ M. Zavalloni, *Values* [in:] *Social Psychology Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, H. Triandis, R. Brislin (eds.), Boston 1982, pp. 78.

²⁸ P.E. Vernon, G.W. Allport, *A Test for Personal Values*, “The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology” 1931, Vol. 26, p. 234.

²⁹ K. Kumar, M.S. Thibodeaux, *Differences*, op.cit.

³⁰ K. Mudyń, *W poszukiwaniu* [Searching], op.cit., p. 127.

³¹ L. Sagiv, S.H. Schwartz, *Value Priorities*, op.cit., p. 437.

6. Research questions, participants, and procedure

Research Questions

In the present study the main problem is the differences in Japanese and Polish students' reactions to additional information supporting or refuting previous stereotypical opinions. The hypothesis was as follows: students who are provided with information about the compared country, estimate social distance differently than those provided with no information. When the information regards similarities between the countries, they have a lower social distance. On the contrary, when it regards differences, social distance increases. This refers to the mechanism mentioned above – information regarding similarities between countries should increase the likeability and decrease the perceived social distance. The second problem regards the relation between personal values and the estimation of social distance and opinions about foreign countries. It is assumed that values preferred by Polish and Japanese students are different and that personal values are related to the estimation of the perceived social distance.

Participants

Over three hundred Japanese and Polish students participated in the study. As for Poles, around two hundred students from the Cracow University of Economics took part in the experiment – 122 females and 69 males. However, because of the unequal proportion of males to females in the Polish and Japanese groups, this analysis regards male students only. The participants' age ranges from 18 to 23 years and the average age is 21.6. As for the Japanese, students from Hiroshima University of Economics and the University of Kyoto were involved – 20 females and 64 males. The age range is the same as in the previous case and the average age is 20.4.

Research Procedure

The study is based on an experiment conducted via the Internet. All students were asked to visit a specified website.

They were asked to provide data about their sex, age, and year of study.

Both Japanese and Polish male students taking part in the experiment were randomly divided into three groups as presented in the diagram above (Figure 1). The numerosity of each group was comparable and varied from 18 to 25 participants. Two control groups with no experimental manipulation answered the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, RN-02 Inventory, and Country Description Scales. The Country Description Scales and Bogardus Social Distance Scale concerned Japan, Poland, and Kenya.

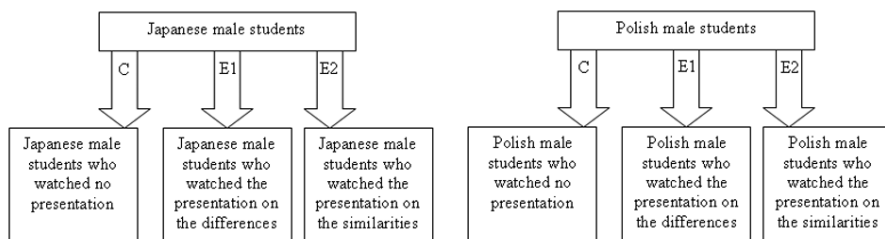


Figure 1. The procedure of the experiment

Source: own.

C – control group

E1 – experimental group who watched the presentation on the differences

E2 – experimental group who watched the presentation on the similarities

The next two groups, before being asked the questions, watched a presentation emphasizing the differences among those three countries. The presentation was divided into three parts, each of which was devoted to a different country. Firstly they watched pictures from Kenya, then from Poland, and finally from Japan. In the images, clothes, food, landscape and other typical features of that particular country were shown (see: Appendix 1).

The presentation on similarities among the same three countries was shown to the last two groups. Contrary to the presentation on differences, this time each slide consisted of three pictures – one from Kenya, one from Poland, and one from Japan (see: Appendix 2). They were ordered by a theme – family, school, playground, football teams, doctors, policemen, and offices. The aim was to expose similarities.

7. Instruments and hypothesis

Cross-cultural researchers should take some steps to overcome boundaries, so in this experiment all the methods were presented to the participants in their native language. This means that Polish and Japanese language versions of all the methods used were prepared for the need of the present study. However, the awareness of limitations is still present.

The Bogardus Social Distance Scale

The method is derived from Bogardus's concept of social distance³². Instead of regarding sympathy or antipathy towards a nation directly, the questions present various social situations. These situations range in gradation from one's willingness to marry into a different group or nation to the exclusion of a member of the group from the country³³. The situations are as follows: matrimony, friendship, neighborhood, cooperation, citizenship and tourism. The underlying assumptions are that replies to these social situations would help in estimating the degree of sympathy felt towards different nations. Questions are ordered according to the level of acceptance, from a high degree of sympathy to rejection. Anyone who responds positively to the first of these questions is expected to answer all the other questions positively, except for the last one. An affirmative answer to the second question is supposedly equal to a positive response to the third, fourth, fifth and sixth ones, and negative to the seventh, and so on³⁴.

*The RN-02 Inventory*³⁵

RN-02 is a method created by Krzysztof Mudyń. It helps to distinguish the life orientation favored by an individual. It is not a direct method of asking about values, but a method based on psychological projection. The main assumption is that what is believed to be more important and more valuable for an interviewee is also more real. This implies that the Inventory refers to values that are rather "sensed" than rationally accepted, i.e., "declared". This distinction is similar to the one made by Ossowski³⁶, who distinguished between "felt values" and "acknowledged values" which are considered as obligatorily respected. Moreover, as the term "real" is unspecified, it seems to be a good incentive for respondents to make psychological projections³⁷. The categorization of life orientation is based on Sprang-

³² E.S. Bogardus, *A Social Distance Scale*, "Sociology and Social Research" 1933, Vol. 17, pp. 265–271.

³³ M.C. Payne, M. York, J. Fagan, *Changes in Measured Social Distance Over Time*, "Sociometry" 1974, Vol. 37, pp. 131–136.

³⁴ F. Basabe, *Attitudes of Japanese Students*, op.cit.

³⁵ RN-02 Inventory RN-02 is included in Appendix 3. An Office Excel program (calculating the results obtained in "paper and pencil" tests) is available at: http://www.ips.uj.edu.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=105:dr-hab-krzysztof-mudyn&catid

³⁶ S. Ossowski, *Konflikty niewspółmiernych skali wartości* [The Conflict Between Incommensurate Scales of Values] [in:] S. Ossowski, *Z zagadnień psychologii społecznej* [The Issues of Social Psychology], Warszawa 2000.

³⁷ K. Mudyń, *W poszukiwaniu* [Searching], op.cit.; see also K. Mudyń, K. Pietras, *Explicit*, op.cit., p. 64.

er's³⁸ concept of personal values (economic, theoretical, social, religious, esthetic, and political).

In RN-02 Inventory each of the six values is represented by ten items. The Inventory is composed of 58 such multiple choice items. In each item a respondent should pick out only one option which is the most real according to them. Additionally, the RN-02 Inventory enables distinguishing two separate clusters: analytic – instrumental and holistic. **The analytic-instrumental cluster** consists of Theoretical, Economic and Political Orientations, whereas **the holistic cluster** includes Social, Esthetic and Religious Orientations.

The Country Description Scales (method created by Michalik)

The Country Description Scales is a method created to gather opinions about countries in a unified way. It is based on Osgood's semantic differential marked on sevenpoint scales. A total score is estimated on a continuum between two opposite adjectives. Each country is described on nine scales: "Known – Unknown", "Friendly – Hostile", "Dominant – Submissive", "Sad – Joyful", "Passive – Active", "Nice – Unfriendly", "Close – Distant", "Similar – Different", "Interesting – Boring". Results are interpreted as follows: the lower the score is, the more attractive, similar, or familiar another country appears to be to the interviewee. When a respondent evaluates the attractiveness, similarity or familiarity for 1 point, it means the evaluated country can be fully characterized by those features. On the contrary, 7 points indicate that a respondent perceives the evaluated country as unattractive, dissimilar or unfamiliar.

Operationalized Hypothesis

In operational terms, the scores in the Bogardus Social Distance Scale are significantly different in each of the three, previously distinguished groups. The experimental groups' (those that were shown the presentation on the differences or similarities) results differ from those of the control group. The experimental group that watched the presentation on similarities should assess the lowest social distance. Additionally, Japanese students are expected to estimate a greater social distance in comparison to Polish students. Then, opinions about foreign countries expressed in the Country Description Scales will differ among the control and the experimental groups as well as between Polish and Japanese groups. Especially the score in the "Similarity" Scale in the Country Description Scale should vary among control and experimental groups – this hypothesis is also tested inside each nationality. Next, scores obtained by Polish and Japanese students in the RN-02 In-

³⁸ E. Spranger, *Types of Men. The Psychology of Ethics and Personality*, New York 1928.

ventory should differ. The Japanese are expected to score higher than Poles in social orientation. Finally, students who score differently in the RN-02 Inventory are also expected to estimate social distance differently.

8. Results

The experiment revealed some differences in the estimation of social distance evaluated by Polish and Japanese students. **Poles tend to estimate social distance toward foreigners lower than the Japanese.**

As presented below in Table 2, the differences are especially visible in comparisons between Polish and Japanese groups who watched the presentation on differences. Statistically significant differences were reported in the evaluation of social distance towards the Kenyans (the two-tailed t-test result was $t(2, 43) = 2.1$; $p = 0.04$). Some tendencies in the evaluations were observed toward each other ($t(2, 43) = 1.6$; $p = 0.1$) and generally toward foreigners ($t(2, 43) = 2.0$; $p = 0.06$). Surprisingly, Poles tend to evaluate social distance higher than the Japanese after having watched the presentation on similarities. However, this tendency is not statistically significant.

Table 2. A comparison of Polish and Japanese male students' evaluations of social distance estimated on the Bogardus Social Distance Scale

Social distance	Estimated by	No presentation	The presentation on the differences	The presentation on the similarities	One-way ANOVA <i>p value</i>
Toward the Kenyans	The Poles	1.6	1.8	2.0	0.72
	The Japanese	1.6	2.9	1.6	0.01
	<i>two tailed t-test p value</i>	0.94	0.04	0.64	
Toward each other *	The Poles	1.2	1.6	1.3	0.62
	The Japanese	1.9	2.5	1.6	0.25
	<i>two tailed t-test p value</i>	0.16	0.11	0.53	
Toward foreigners**	The Poles	1.4	1.7	1.7	0.81
	The Japanese	1.7	2.7	1.6	0.05
	<i>two tailed t-test p value</i>	0.46	0.06	0.86	

* Poles estimated the social distance towards the Japanese and the Japanese toward Poles.

** Social distance towards foreigners is calculated as the average social distance towards the Kenyans and the Japanese in the case of Poles, and towards the Kenyans and the Japanese in the case of the Japanese.

Source: own.

Other significant differences were observed between the control and experimental groups among Japanese students (Figure 2).

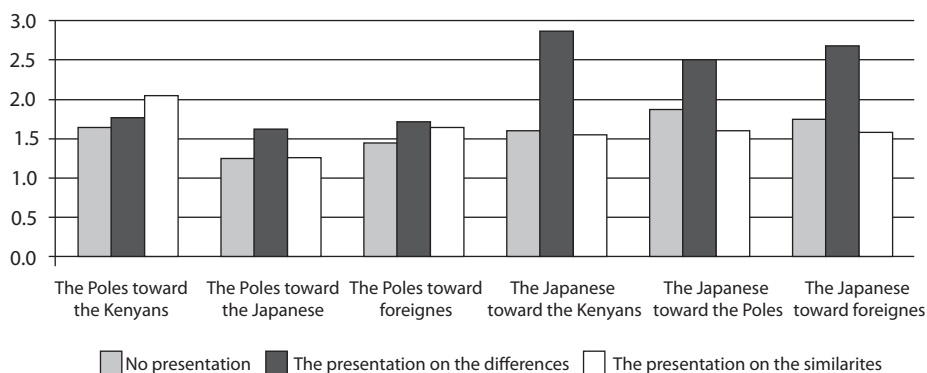


Figure 2. A comparison of Polish and Japanese control and experimental groups' evaluations of social distance estimated on the Bogardus Social Distance Scale

Source: own.

Students who were shown the presentation on differences evaluated social distance as higher than those from other groups. In the case of the attitudes toward the Kenyans there was a One-way ANOVA $F(2, 63) = 5.1$; $p = 0.01$ and toward foreigners in general $F(2, 63) = 3.3$; $p = 0.05$. In the case of the attitudes toward Poles the same tendency appears, but is not statistically significant. Moreover, Polish groups who watched the presentation on similarities estimated social distance as greater than the control group did.

Another issue explored in the present study is personal values and their impact on the estimation of social distance. Polish and Japanese students differ in preferred orientations. Poles tend to score significantly higher in the Economic Orientation, whereas the Japanese in Esthetic and Political Orientations (Figure 3). Similarly, in another study comparing Polish and Irish students' life orientations, Poles scored higher in the Economic Orientation and lower in Esthetic and Political Orientations³⁹.

³⁹ J. Matyjasik, *Indywidualna hierarchia wartości i retrospekcyjny obraz postaw rodziców a zadowolenie z życia i poczucie szczęścia* [An Individual Hierarchy of Values and Retrospective Image of Parents' Attitudes in Relation to Life Satisfaction and Happiness], Niepublikowana praca magisterska [Unpublished master thesis], Institute of Applied Psychology UJ, Kraków 2009.

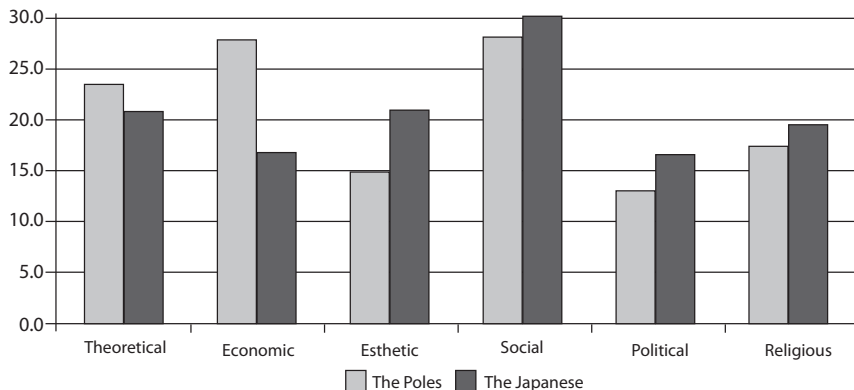


Figure 3. The comparison of Polish and Japanese male students' scores in the RN-02 Inventory orientations

Source: own.

Table 3. Main scores obtained by Polish and Japanese male students in RN-02 Inventory

Orientations	Theoretical	Economic	Esthetic	Social	Political	Religious
The Poles	23.2	27.6	15.0	27.9	12.8	17.4
The Japanese	20.8	16.6	20.6	29.9	16.4	19.3
<i>Mann-Whitney test (two-tailed) p value</i>	0.76	0.001	0.01	0.46*	0.02	0.12

*Unpaired two-tailed t-test.

The observed differences are mostly statistically significant (Table 3). Also, the analyses of the clusters support the hypothesis on differences between Poles and the Japanese in personal value systems. Previous research conducted in Poland by Mudyń⁴⁰ (2007) enabled to distinguish two clusters: analytic-instrumental and holistic. The revealed tendency is applied in the analyses of current data. Japanese students significantly more often chose orientations typical of the holistic cluster, whereas Polish students chose life orientations representing the instrumental cluster more frequently (Table 4).

⁴⁰ K. Mudyń, *W poszukiwaniu* [Searching], op.cit.

Table 4. The comparison of clusters chosen by Polish and Japanese male students in the RN-02 Inventory

Nationality	Analytic – instrumental cluster	Holistic cluster	<i>t-test p value</i>
The Poles	63.6	60.2	0.26
The Japanese	53.8	69.9	0.001

Source: own.

A question that seems to be interesting from the present study's point of view is how the preferred life orientation or cluster influences the attitude towards foreigners. In the case of Polish students no correlation was found between the estimation of social distance on the Bogardus Scale and the life orientation measured by the RN-02 Inventory. Only a slight correlation (Pearson $r = -0.29$) between social distance and Political Orientation was observed in the group that did not watch a presentation ($p = 0.16$). Similarly, the analysis of correlation between social distance and orientation clusters revealed no statistically significant relations.

Table 5. The correlation between Japanese students' scores in the RN-02 Inventory and the estimation of social distance on the Bogardus Social Distance Scale

	Theoretical	Economic	Esthetic	Social	Political	Religious
All Japanese students (N=59)						
Pearson r	0.17	0.15	0.08	-0.49 ***	0.34 **	0.02
Students who watched no presentation (N=21)						
Pearson r	0.31	-0.02	-0.29	-0.31	0.52 *	-0.01
Students who watched the presentation on differences (N=21)						
Pearson r	-0.17	0.43 *	0.08	-0.51 *	0.46 *	-0.03
Students who watched the presentation on similarities (N=17)						
Pearson r	0.46	0.14	0.20	-0.59 *	-0.01	-0.04

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

On the contrary, the results obtained by Japanese students in the RN-02 Inventory correlate with the estimation of social distance on the Bogardus Social Distance Scale (Table 5). According to expectations, Social Orientation highly correlates (Pearson $r = -0.49$) with the evaluation of social distance. **The higher the score in Social Orientation, the lower the estimation of social distance.** The opposite relation was observed between Political Orientation and the estimation of social distance – **the higher the score in Political Orientation, the greater the reported social distance.**

The next aim of the experiment was to verify whether the presentation of material regarding chosen countries affects attitudes toward foreigners (Table 6 and 7). Despite the fact that the influence of the experimental material was weaker than expected, some statistically significant differences were reported.

First, the presentations affected opinions on how well-known the given countries are. Poles found Kenya better known after having seen the material on similarities (the two-tailed t-test result was $t(2, 45) = 1.7$; $p = 0.1$). The same tendency was observed in opinions about Japan – Poles who watched the presentation on similarities considered Japan as better known than those who were not shown any presentation. At the same time, the Japanese who watched the presentation on differences estimated the level of knowledge about Kenya as lower than those who saw no presentation (the two-tailed t-test result was $t(2, 44) = 1.9$; $p = 0.12$).

Second, some differences were revealed in the estimation of similarity between countries. Poles estimated the similarity of Kenya as greater after being shown both the presentation on differences (Mann-Whitney $U(2, 45) = 189$; $p = 0.12$) and similarities (Mann-Whitney $U(2, 45) = 190$; $p = 0.06$). Similarly, the Japanese who watched the presentation on similarities found Poland to be more similar than the students who did not see the material (the two-tailed t-test result was $t(2, 39) = 1.7$; $p = 0.1$). This tendency was noticeable in the estimation of the similarity of Poland.

Next, some trends were reported for the “Nice – Unfriendly” scale: in most cases the Japanese estimated higher how nice the country is after being shown the presentations. The Polish results support the existence of the observed tendency – Poles found Kenya nicer after the presentation on differences (the two-tailed t-test result was $t(2, 45) = 1.7$; $p = 0.1$).

Finally, the presentations had no effect on the evaluation of how interesting the given countries are, how close they are and how friendly they are considered with one exception – the Japanese found Kenya less friendly after having seen the presentation on differences (the two-tailed t-test result was $t(2, 44) = 1.8$; $p = 0.08$).

Table 6. The comparison of opinions about Kenya expressed by Polish and Japanese students on the Country Description Scales

Kenya	Estimated by	No presentation	The presentation on differences	The presentation on similarities
Known	The Poles	2.8	3.0	3.5
	The Japanese	4.0	2.9	3.6
	p^{**}	0.02	0.74	0.66

Kenya	Estimated by	No presentation	The presentation on differences	The presentation on similarities
Similar	The Poles	1.4	2.2	2.4
	The Japanese	2.6	2.8	3.2
	<i>p</i>	0.001	0.20	0.18
Friendly	The Poles	4.2	4.5	4.2
	The Japanese	5.1	4.6	5.3
	<i>p</i>	0.02	0.84	0.02
Interesting	The Poles	5.5	5.9	5.1
	The Japanese	4.1	4.3	4.6
	<i>p</i>	0.01	0.001	0.20
Nice	The Poles	4.4	5.2	4.3
	The Japanese	4.5	4.3	5.1
	<i>p</i>	0.86	0.08	0.22
Close	The Poles	1.9	2.0	2.5
	The Japanese	2.3	2.0	2.2
	<i>p</i>	0.28	0.92	0.52

* The values on the Country Description Scales were reversed to simplify the presentation of data.

** All the statistics are based on the two-tailed t-test *p* value.

Source: own.

Poles and the Japanese differ further in their opinions (Table 6 and 7). **The most noticeable difference is that Polish students found foreign countries far more interesting than Japanese students did.** Poles also claimed to know Japan better than the Japanese declared to know Poland (Table 7). Additionally, according to Poles, Japan is closer than Poland is according to the Japanese. On the contrary, Japanese students found Kenya and Poland statistically more similar than Polish students found Kenya and Japan.

Table 7. The comparison of opinions about each other expressed by Polish and Japanese students on the Country Description Scales

Each other opinions	Estimated by	No presentation	The presentation on differences	The presentation on similarities
Known	The Poles	4.6	5.2	5.3
	The Japanese	3.9	3.4	3.4
	<i>p</i> **	0.20	0.001	0.001
Similar	The Poles	2.6	2.2	2.8
	The Japanese	3.3	3.4	4.1
	<i>p</i>	0.16	0.02	0.02

Each other opinions	Estimated by	No presentation	The presentation on differences	The presentation on similarities
Friendly	The Poles	5.4	5.2	5.3
	The Japanese	4.8	4.9	5.1
	<i>p</i>	0.04	0.36	0.58
Interesting	The Poles	5.9	6.3	6.0
	The Japanese	4.3	4.4	4.3
	<i>p</i>	0.01	0.001	0.01
Nice	The Poles	5.4	5.0	5.1
	The Japanese	4.6	5.0	5.2
	<i>p</i>	0.04	0.92	0.88
Close	The Poles	6.0	6.0	6.0
	The Japanese	2.8	2.7	3.0
	<i>p</i>	0.001	0.001	0.001

* The values on the Country Description Scales were reversed to simplify the presentation of data.

** All the statistics are based on the two-tailed t-test *p* value.

Finally, the correlation between opinions about the countries and the estimation of social distance was explored. The scale that correlates the most with social distance is “Interesting – Boring”. When a country was evaluated as more interesting, the social distance towards those particular foreigners was lower. An exception was the attitude towards the Japanese of the Polish group of students who were not shown any presentation – the more interesting Japan appeared to them, the greater they reported the social distance.

Moreover, in the Japanese sample there was a negative correlation between the estimation of social distance and “Nice – Unfriendly” (on average Pearson $r = -0.44$). The nicer the foreign country is considered to be, the lower the existing social distance is.

The last relation worth mentioning exists between Japanese and Polish students’ opinions on how well-known Kenya is and the evaluation of social distance towards the Kenyans. According to the results gathered in Poland, the less known Kenya is, the closer the distance is declared. On the contrary, the tendency in the Japanese sample is the opposite – the better Kenya is known, the closer the distance is expressed.

Interestingly, **the presentation on differences induced the strongest correlations**. As it is presented in Table 8, the nicer, more interesting or friendlier a foreign country is found, the lower the estimation of social distance. This observation supports the claim that the presentation on differences induced significant changes in the attitudes toward foreigners.

Table 8. The correlation between the Country Description Scales and the estimation of social distance on the Bogardus Social Distance Scale in Polish and Japanese groups who were shown the presentation on differences

	Known	Friendly	Interesting	Nice	Close	Similar
Kenya assessed by Polish students (N=22)						
Pearson r	0.30	0.14	-0.42 *	-0.40	0.32	0.23
Japan assessed by Polish students (N=22)						
Pearson r	-0.04	-0.60***	-0.46 *	-0.46 *	0.00	0.11
Kenya assessed by Japanese students (N=21)						
Pearson r	-0.40	-0.15	-0.62**	-0.67***	-0.07	-0.28
Poland assessed by Japanese students (N=21)						
Pearson r	-0.18	-0.32	-0.19	-0.33	0.05	0.02

* The values on the Country Description Scales were reversed to simplify the presentation of data.

Source: own.

9. Discussion

To begin with, social distance evaluated by both Polish and Japanese students, is significantly different from zero, suggesting total acceptance of foreigners. Regarding Hofstede's concept, in both Japanese and Polish culture, there is a strong tendency to avoid uncertainty⁴¹. Not knowing social rules and rituals, foreigners bring uncertainty to social life and may therefore be rejected from society. The disturbance of social order and predictability by foreigners can be an explanation for this reluctance.

The differences reported between Polish and Japanese men's judgments of social distance support previously assumed hypotheses. Indeed, **the Japanese tend to perceive greater social distance towards foreigners than Poles**. The explanation probably lies in familiarity with foreigners, which in this case seems to be culturally determined. Polish students are accustomed to foreign students in class. Given the opportunity by Erasmus Internships, Poles can also study abroad more easily. An additional barrier that exists between Japanese students and foreigners are poor foreign language skills. Despite many years of studying English, a majority of the

⁴¹ G. Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences*, op.cit.

Japanese cannot manage to speak it⁴². Similar observation was also made by one of the authors of the article made during a few months stay in one of academic centers in Japan in the academic year 2006/2007. Difficulties in studying languages make it hard to get to know and understand foreigners. The lack of common ground increases the sense of distance. In addition, “intense group solidarity is complemented by discomfort in the presence of non-Japanese”⁴³.

Moreover, some questions arise while referring to the evaluation of social distance by Poles who did not watch a presentation and by those who were presented experimental material. Students who were shown the presentation on differences were expected to estimate social distance as greater than those who did not. Students who were shown the presentation on similarities were supposed to evaluate social distance as closer. **Contrary to expectations, both groups that were shown presentations evaluated social distance as greater.** Although this tendency is not statistically significant, it is worth noticing. According to Kloskowska’s research⁴⁴, young Poles present a more open attitude towards foreigners in the practical rather than declarative aspect. The current study leads to the opposite conclusion. When students were asked just about their attitudes, they were more open. Watching a presentation requires rethinking one’s own point of view and so, due to the presentation, unspecified questions become more realistic. When thinking less theoretically about the situations presented in the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, Poles evaluate social distance towards foreigners as greater. Another possible justification regards the aspiration of Poles to belong to “the beloved West”⁴⁵. **Being shown similarities with the Kenyans, Poles reject them and consider the Kenyans to be more distant.** A different tendency was observed in the Japanese sample and was in accordance with the hypothesis. While exploring why the Japanese students, contrary to Poles, were affected by the experimental manipulation, two facts have to be taken into account.

One probable explanation is the fact that in Japan, respect for authority is strong⁴⁶ and since a presentation is treated as scientific material, it may evoke changes in attitudes. The Japanese seem to follow authority more easily than Poles.

⁴² M. Dezaki, *Shame over Poor English Level Lies with Education Ministry*, 2009, <http://search.japantimes.co.jp/rss/fl20090120hn.html>, [access: 24.01.2009].

⁴³ J. Scarborough, *The Origins of Cultural Differences and Their Impact on Management*, London 1998.

⁴⁴ A. Kloskowska, *Kultury narodowe u korzeni* [National Cultures at Their Roots], Warszawa 2005.

⁴⁵ E. Lipniacka, *Poradnik ksenofoba. Polacy* [Xenophobe’s Guide. The Poles], op.cit. See also: A. Kloskowska, *Kultury narodowe* [National Cultures], op.cit.

⁴⁶ G. Hofstede, *Culture’s Consequences*, op.cit.

Additionally, the way Poles react may have its source in the need for uniqueness. Western culture forces people to become independent from others by expressing their uniqueness. According to Snyder and Fromkin⁴⁷, as well as Lynn and Snyder⁴⁸, **individuals' need for uniqueness is fulfilled by the comfort of being moderately different or unique from others.** The intensity of this need varies among individuals. Given the differences between Polish and Japanese cultures, **Poles are expected to express a stronger need for uniqueness.** This concept may also explain the difference in reactions to the presentation on differences. While in the Japanese sample the information on differences generally induced greater social distance and less positive opinions, in the Polish sample it had the opposite effect. Perhaps for Poles the information on differences is needed to maintain a desired level of uniqueness. On the contrary, the information on similarities invaded the Poles' sense of uniqueness, which resulted in less positive attitudes toward foreigners.

Another possible idea considers Basabe's observation about stereotypes in Japan⁴⁹. As Japan is isolated from other countries, stereotypes of foreigners are generally created by the media. Presented material may have the same impact on attitudes as regular TV material. Presentations can be considered a valuable source of information and may therefore generate changes in attitudes.

As for cultural differences in personal values and life orientations, Polish and Japanese students vary significantly. The most visible divergence regards the Economic Orientation. The Japanese score definitely lower than Poles. Perhaps the reason lies in Japanese modesty and reluctance to deal overtly with money⁵⁰ and may stop the Japanese from openly admitting to an interest in economics. On the other hand, all the participants from Poland study at the University of Economics while only half of the Japanese participants are recognized as students of economics faculties. However, according to Mudyń⁵¹ previous study, in Poland such low scores in the Economic Orientation as those observed in Japan do not occur. He suggests that **the Poles' interest in economical issues may be a consequence of the national economy transforming from socialism into capitalism** – which would support the previous explanation.

⁴⁷ C.R. Snyder, H.L. Fromkin, *Abnormality as a Positive Characteristic: The Development and Validation of a Scale Measuring Need for Uniqueness*, "Journal of Abnormal Psychology" 1977, Vol. 86. Also: C.R. Snyder, H.L. Fromkin, *Uniqueness: The Human Pursuit of Difference*, New York 1980.

⁴⁸ M. Lynn, C. R. Snyder, *Uniqueness Seeking* [in:] *Handbook of Positive Psychology*, C.R. Snyder, S.J. Lopez (eds.), Oxford 2002, pp. 395–410.

⁴⁹ F. Basabe, *Attitudes of Japanese Students*, op.cit.

⁵⁰ S. Kaji, N. Hama, J. Rice, op.cit.

⁵¹ K. Mudyń, *Rzeczywiste–Nierzeczywiste* [Real–Non(real)], op.cit., pp. 46–47.

Moreover, the Japanese are significantly more esthetically orientated than Poles. This tendency seems to be in accordance with Hofstede's concept. Namely, the Japanese tend to worship every single moment and care a lot about passing beauty⁵². Adoration of the cherry blossom or the artistic carefulness of sushi preparation are just a few examples of the importance of esthetic values. Contrary to expectations, the research did not reveal considerable differences in the Social Orientation. Although the Japanese obtained higher results, they are not statistically significant. As Japan is considered to be a rather collective society⁵³, social values may be understood in a different manner than in Western societies, where the RN-02 Inventory was created.

In the Japanese sample there is a clear trend that people who favor the Social Orientation declare lower social distance towards foreigners. This is one of the tendencies that were previously assumed and later on confirmed by this research. As Japan is considered to be an example of a collectivistic and society-focused country, the result does not surprise. Furthermore, positive correlation between the Social Orientation score and the estimation of social distance was reported. The justification is related directly to Spranger's value types. Socially-oriented people tend to care about social relations and are characterized by a philanthropic attitude towards other human beings⁵⁴.

Another interesting result is how the Political Orientation is related to the estimation of social distance. In the Japanese sample there is a strong correlation – the higher one scores in Political Orientation, the greater the social distance is perceived. **Perhaps an interest in political issues increases the sense of separateness from other countries.** An opposite tendency, though not statistically significant, was observed in the Polish sample.

A following question is what Polish and Japanese male students think of foreign countries. Generally, Poles seem to be attracted by other countries much more than the Japanese. Polish students declare to know Kenya less than the Japanese, but at the same time believe they know more about Japan than the Japanese know about Poland. What seems interesting is that **Poles find Japan more familiar, more interesting, and closer than the Japanese find Poland.** However, Poles estimate the level of similarity to Japan lower than the Japanese estimate their similarity to Poland. As for the relation between an opinion about a certain country and the

⁵² G. Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences*, op.cit.; *Estetyka japońska* [Japanese Esthetics], K. Wilkoszewska (ed.), Kraków 2006.

⁵³ G. Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences*, op.cit.

⁵⁴ P.E. Vernon, G.W. Allport, *A Test*, op.cit.

perceived social distance towards its inhabitants, the estimation of how well-known the country is, is worth attention. In the Polish sample, when a country is considered to be better known, as in the case of Kenya, the social distance is greater. Unlike in the Polish sample, in the Japanese the correlation is opposite. This tendency is in accordance with the general conclusion on how Poles and the Japanese reacted to information about other countries and how they perceive social distance.

10. Conclusion

First, as a result of the present study with Polish and Japanese students, comes a conclusion regarding the importance of culture and its influence on attitudes toward foreigners. Not only does culture directly determine perceived social distance, but it also indirectly affects personal values and social cognition. **The present study confirmed differences in the value system of Poles and the Japanese.** It also revealed crosscultural variation in the reception of cognitive material. Nevertheless, the most significant observation refers to differences in opinions on social distance towards foreigners between Poles and the Japanese. It must be pointed out that Japanese students' attitudes toward foreigners are in accordance with previous assumptions. Polish students' attitudes seem to be less rational. Their opinions are not coherent. A possible explanation is that now Poland is involved in social changes related to its admission to the European Union, which also includes changes in Poles attitudes toward foreigners. This is why their opinions are not stable.

Second, values are recognized as one of several individual factors affecting the perception of social distance. **Especially the Social and Political Orientations are distinguished as having the strongest influence on decisions regarding social attitudes.** However, only the data collected in Japan support the assumption that being socially-oriented decreases social distance.

Next, **the results indicate that the same information may result in different reactions in different cultures.** Moreover, there is a relation between the given information and the estimation of social distance. It shows that **to overcome obstacles caused by stereotypes in cross-cultural communication, simple provision of information may not be enough. Information must be adjusted to recipients' hitherto gathered knowledge.** This problem needs further investigation.

All in all, the study confirmed that cross-cultural communication is strongly affected by cultural and individual determinants. One has to realize the existence of a difference in perceiving social distance towards representatives of other na-

tionalities. It is also important to bear in mind, that stereotypical attitudes are deeply established in the social conscience.

As for the experiment itself, several limitations of the study were recognized. The preparation of presentations was based on subjective judgments. In addition, the Country Description Scale, being the author's own method, requires further investigation (i.e. the lack of the scale "Poor –Rich"). Moreover, one more individual factor should be considered – the frequency of contact with foreigners and personal experience in this matter. Cross-cultural studies require the contribution of representatives of various nationalities. The researchers are deeply embedded in their own culture, which in fact affects the study at every stage, from early preparation to analyzing data and formulating conclusions⁵⁵. Despite these limitations, these analyses are expected to enhance the understanding of the attitudes of Polish and Japanese students toward foreigners. Hopefully, they can be an inspiration for further investigation in this domain.

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⁵⁵ P. Boski, *Kulturowe ramy zachowań społecznych. Podręcznik psychologii międzykulturowej* [Cultural Frames of Social Behaviors. Cross-cultural Psychology Handbook], Warszawa 2009.

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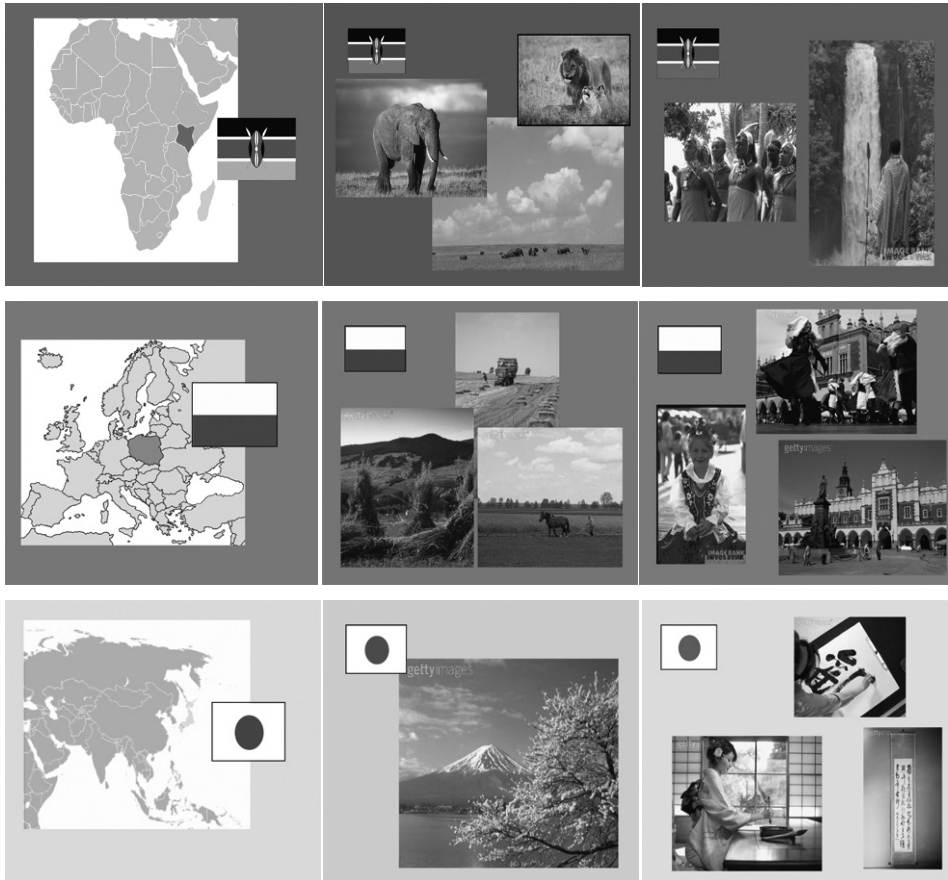
SUMMARY

In an Internet study, Japanese and Polish male students (aged 19–23) were shown presentations depicting either similarities or differences between Japan, Poland, and Kenya. Next, both the experimental and control groups filled in the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, RN-02 Inventory, and Country Description Scale. The expected social distance effect, which increases after differences between countries are presented, was observed only in the Japanese sample toward the Kenyans ($p < 0.01$). Moreover, Japanese students appeared more sensitive to differences than Polish students and were also found to be more esthetically ($p < 0.001$) and politically ($p < 0.05$) oriented than Polish students, who demonstrated a stronger economic orientation ($p < 0.001$).

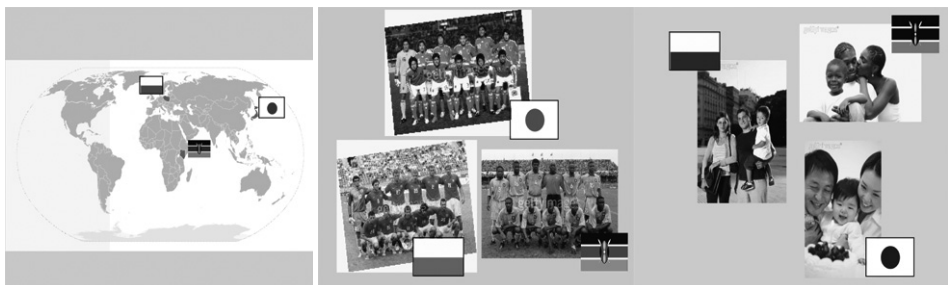
Key words:

social distance scale, attitudes toward foreigners, information on similarities or differences, life orientations

Appendix 1. Sample slides from the presentation on differences



Appendix 2. Sample slides from the presentation on similarities



Appendix 3.

Krzysztof Mudyń, Jagiellonian University, Institute of Applied Psychology

RN-02

Below is a list of 58 multiple-choice sets of items referring to different "objects" or different aspects of reality. Some of them refer to something that seems to be very real, whereas others to something that you may find not very real or completely unreal.

According to your own opinion and feelings, please choose just one answer in each set. You should find the chosen item more real than the other two or three in the set.

Each answer is going to reappear in different sets. Even if it is hard to decide on one answer, please try to distinguish the one that is the most real for you.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. a) the city of Cracow
b) the Universe
c) I, myself | 7. a) meaning of life
b) military advantage
c) electromagnetic field |
| 2. a) stockbroker office,
b) God the Creator
c) community of experiences | 8. a) neighborly relations
b) gravity
c) Impressionist painting |
| 3. a) genotype
b) poetic mood
c) minority's regime | 9. a) circle of friends
b) the structure of power
c) internal freedom |
| 4. a) energy consumption
b) true friendship
c) probability of events | 10. a) territorial government
b) stylish outfit
c) promotional price |
| 5. a) composition of colours
b) mathematical formula
c) domestic budget | 11. a) the hero of the novel
b) Satan
c) income tax |
| 6. a) article of faith,
b) humanitarian aid,
c) harmony of shapes | 12. a) power struggle
b) investment profitability
c) group solidarity |

- | | |
|--|--|
| 13. a) logical inconsistency
b) immortality of the soul
c) public opinion | 22. a) humanitarian aid
b) military advantage
c) electromagnetic field |
| 14. a) atomic structure
b) joint prayer
c) piano concert | 23. a) the structure of power
b) gravity
c) Impressionist painting |
| 15. a) destiny
b) the ability to cooperate
c) causal connection | 24. a) internal freedom
b) promotional price
c) the hero of the novel |
| 16. a) investment credit
b) flowers' aroma
c) election campaign | 25. a) group solidarity
b) income tax
c) immortality of the soul |
| 17. a) political opposition
b) costs of production
c) interpersonal relations | 26. a) Satan
b) public opinion
c) investment profitability |
| 18. a) the Universe
b) I, myself
c) the city of Cracow | 27. a) party in power
b) violin sonata
c) artificial intelligence |
| 19. a) composition of colours
b) community of experiences
c) minority's regime | 28. a) social justice
b) guardian angel
c) stock exchange transaction |
| 20. a) genotype
b) poetic mood
c) true friendship | 29. a) relativity theory
b) Act of Parliament
c) eternal redemption |
| 21. a) domestic budget
b) mathematical formula
c) article of faith | 30. a) aesthetic interior design
b) common fun
c) economic recession |

31. a) guardian angel
b) atomic structure
c) social justice
32. a) costs of production
b) violin sonata
c) common fun
33. a) logical inconsistency
b) investment credit
c) power struggle
34. a) election campaign
b) causal connection
c) circle of friends.
35. a) flowers' aroma
b) artificial intelligence
c) eternal redemption
36. a) piano concert
b) party in power
c) probability of events
37. a) relativity theory
b) meaning of life
c) Act of Parliament
38. a) consumption of energy
b) harmony of shapes
c) the ability to cooperate
39. a) stylish outfit
b) territorial government
c) stockbroker office
40. a) interpersonal relations
b) God the Creator
c) stock exchange transaction
41. a) aesthetic interior design
b) destiny
c) political opposition
42. a) joint prayer
b) economic recession
c) neighborly relations
43. a) I, myself
b) the Universe
c) the city of Cracow
44. a) stockbroker office
b) composition of colours
c) atomic structure
d) community of experiences
45. a) probability of events
b) costs of production
c) poetic mood
d) minority's regime
46. a) joint prayer
b) energy consumption
c) true friendship
d) genotype
47. a) God the Creator,
b) electromagnetic field
c) piano concert
d) domestic budget

- 48. a) causal connection
b) harmony of shapes
c) humanitarian aid
d) article of faith
- 49. a) investment credit
b) meaning of life
c) the structure of power
d) mathematical formula
- 50. a) political opposition
b) neighborly relations
c) gravity
d) Impressionist painting
- 51. a) flowers' aroma
b) circle of friends
c) military advantage
d) internal freedom
- 52. a) the ability to cooperate
b) the hero of the novel
c) power struggle
d) promotional price
- 53. a) election campaign
b) stylish outfit
c) immortality of the soul
d) income tax
- 54. a) destiny
b) territorial government
c) investment profitability
d) group solidarity
- 55. a) interpersonal relations
b) logical inconsistency
c) Satan
d) public opinion
- 56. a) eternal redemption
b) party in power
c) social justice
d) aesthetic interior design
- 57. a) common fun
b) economic recession
c) relativity theory
d) violin sonata
- 58. a) stock exchange transaction,
b) artificial intelligence
c) guardian angel
d) Act of Parliament